Canadian
Advisory Council
on the Status of Women

Conseil
consultatif canadien
sur la situation de la femme

BRIEF TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON ELECTORAL REFORM AND PARTY FINANCING

June 1990

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women

92-07157/

1. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (the Council) was established in 1973 on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Our Council has a maximum of 30 members appointed by the federal Cabinet. Collectively, our members represent the regional, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of Canada. The Council's mandate is to bring matters of interest and concern to women before the government and the public. To accomplish this goal, we liaise with women's organizations across Canada, maintain our own active research agenda, and advocate recommendations on a wide range of issues.

2. We welcome this opportunity to meet with the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing (the Commission), which includes among its members a past President of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The Commission has written that "it is essential . . . to develop practical and applicable recommendations which, when implemented, will enhance the confidence Canadians have in the fairness and integrity of our electoral process."[1] Twenty years ago, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women commented on the fairness and integrity of our electoral process:

> Nowhere else in Canadian life is the persistent distinction between male and female roles of more consequence. No country can make a claim to having equal status for its women so long as its government lies entirely in the hands of men. The obstacles to genuine participation, when they lie in prejudice, in unequal family responsibility, or in financing a campaign, must be approached with a genuine determination to change the present imbalance.[2]

Despite modest improvements in the participation of women in public life since the Royal Commission on the Status of Women reported in September 1970, twenty years later we must conclude, as did that Commission, that "The voice of government is still a man's voice."[3]

3. Our confidence in the fairness and integrity of the electoral process will be undermined as long as women are unrepresented in equal numbers in all aspects of political life. For us, the fundamental question of electoral reform is how to increase the participation of women in political life in Canada. This question involves:

- identifying systemic barriers to women's participation in the electoral process;
- acknowledging that the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees both the right to vote and the right to substantive equality for women. The right to vote goes beyond casting a ballot in a physical sense. Combined with sex equality, the right to vote includes the right to political equality, to cast a ballot which provides an effective opportunity to elect women; and
- challenging power relations and institutional structures within our society, including those which govern our democratic process.

The first part of this brief reviews the background of women's participation in Canadian political life and recommends measures which would improve women's ability to participate in the existing electoral process. The second part describes some of the dilemmas women face in confronting existing power structures and proposes new directions for thought and research on Canada's electoral system.

4. Women won the right to vote federally in stages. In 1917, women in the Armed Forces and women who had close relatives in the Armed Forces were enfranchised. In 1918, the federal vote was extended to women who had the same qualifications as male electors in their province, although women who had been born outside Canada and who had become British subjects by marriage or naturalization of their parents needed a judge's certificate before they could vote. Women and men of Chinese, East Indian, and Japanese ancestry continued to be denied the vote until the late 1940s. The Inuit and "registered Indians" living on reserves did not get the federal vote until 1960.[4]

5. The history of the vote for women in Canada is neither very long nor consistent. The formal right to vote has not given women political power. Although a large majority of Canadians vote, it is the only traditionally defined political activity of 25% to 30% of the public. Some people argue that little difference between men and women exists in lower-level "conventional" political activities, such as voting, discussing politics, attending political meetings, working for political parties or candidates, and contacting politicians. It has also been argued that gender differences are significant in higher-level and more influential political activities, such as holding riding-level office, holding

party office, attending conventions as delegates, campaign management and, ultimately, running for and holding elected office.[5]

6. In the eighty years since the first women could vote in a federal election, women are still only 13.5% of elected members of Parliament. Three provinces still have no women elected to the House of Commons. In the 1988 federal election, we estimate that there was no opportunity to even vote for a woman in about 111 (37.6%) of the 295 electoral districts. In 1979, the Feminist Party of Canada projected that it would take another 842 years to achieve equal representation in the House of Commons.[6] It was only in the 1984 federal election that women began to approach the 10% mark as a percentage of elected members.

TABLE 1

Year of federal election	% women elected
1921-1967	0.8
1968	0.4
1972	1.8
1974	3.4
1979	3.6
1980	5.7
1984	9.6
1988	13.5*

Note: * Includes 1989 by-election.
Source: Janine Brodie, *Women and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1985), p. 4; Chantal Maille, "Les femmes du Canada et la participation à la vie politique : bilan des années 1980 et perspectives pour la décennie" (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, forthcoming).

The Council projects that it would take approximately 36 years before women would make up half of the members of the House of Commons. This prediction is based on the most generous (and, some would argue, naive) assumption that women will win an additional 4% of ridings per election, with an election every four years, without change in the number of electoral districts, and a lack of systemic resistance as women begin to approach significant numbers in the House of Commons. Even this best-case scenario is unacceptable in a country

concerned with the fairness and integrity of its democratic process. The Committee for '94, an all-party group working to bring about equal representation for women at all levels of government, has as its slogan, "Half the House by '94". We too would like to see women make up half of the elected members of the House of Commons by 1994 rather than wait 36 (or more) years until 2026.

7. Lack of money is a major barrier to participation in political life. Delegates at the 1986 conference "L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique", sponsored by the Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFÉAS), were accurately advised that "La condition sine qua non pour se lancer en politique [. . .] est l'autonomie financière."[7] It is still true that women have more difficulty than men in raising money for political campaigns.[8] Eighty per cent of women in Canada have some income, although women's share of total income in Canada is only 35%. Most working-age women participate in the labour force; however, in all occupations, women earn on average much less than men. Women simply have fewer financial resources to subsidize themselves and others in the electoral process.

8. One of the most obvious financial costs associated with running for elected office is the risk to employment. Many women cannot afford to gamble their jobs on the chance of winning an election. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women noted that some Canadian companies provided leaves of absence and other forms of subsidization to enable their employees to stand for election. Labour Canada has identified 310 collective agreements which contain provisions for political office leave, as well as a smaller number which provide for political activity leave.

9. These agreements, which include both paid and unpaid leave provisions, are found in the federal and provincial public, para-public, and private sectors. The collective agreements for academic staff in the university sector provide a model of commitment to public life. While there are differences among them, in general, these agreements include the following two provisions:

- Leaves of absence (usually, but not always unpaid) to seek nomination and/or election to political office at the federal, provincial, or municipal level. The amount of leave provided varies according to the level of government.
- If elected, employees are provided a further unpaid leave of absence to serve in elected office. For those elected to federal or provincial office, the leave is generally for a period of six years. Leave provided for election to municipal office is varied, in part because the responsibilities and remuneration of municipal councillors vary dramatically across the country.

Unfortunately, most women in the labour force are not covered by collective agreements. Employers are required under the *Canada Elections Act* to provide an opportunity for their employees to vote. Requiring employers to provide employees with an opportunity to stand for and serve a minimum period of public office would merely extend this principle. Such a change would encourage more women to participate in our electoral process. In fact, members of Parliament have tended to come predominantly from the fields of law and commerce. Statutory political activity leave may encourage men and women from a wider range of occupational backgrounds to seek elected office.

10. **Therefore, the Council recommends that the federal government amend the *Canada Elections Act*, so that employees throughout Canada would be entitled to:**

- **unpaid leave of absence to seek nomination or election to federal political office; and**
- **if elected, to a further unpaid leave of absence for a period of six years.**

The Council also recommends that the federal government urge its provincial and territorial counterparts to enact similar political leave provisions for provincial, territorial, and municipal elections within their jurisdictions. It is arguable that statutory political activity leave constitutes a labour standard, which constitutionally falls within the jurisdiction of the provinces. In this event, the Council recommends that the federal government amend the *Canada Labour Code*, and any other related public sector employment and electoral legislation, so that employees under federal jurisdiction be entitled to the leave

provisions described above in order to participate in federal, provincial, or municipal elections. We would then encourage the federal government to urge its provincial and territorial counterparts to enact similar political leave provisions in their jurisdictions.

11. The Committee for '94 has recommended that Canada move toward an electoral financing system wholly funded out of public money in order to overcome the financial barriers confronting women and other disadvantaged groups. At the federal level, elections are already almost entirely funded out of public monies which come primarily from two sources: the federal political tax credit, and reimbursements of election expenses to candidates and registered political parties.

12. The federal political tax credit provides taxpaying political contributors with a maximum credit of $500, distributed as follows: 75% of the first $100 of federal political contribution, 50% of the next $450, and 33.3% of any contribution over $550. In addition, Elections Canada reimburses both candidates and registered political parties for a portion of their election expenses. At the federal level, candidates who receive at least 15% of the vote in an election are reimbursed by Elections Canada for 50% of election expenses paid. Fifteen per cent of this amount is paid in the form of an advance shortly after the election. Political parties which nominate at least 50 candidates in a federal election and spend more than 10% of allowable election expenses, are reimbursed 22.5% of their election expenses.

13. **The Council agrees with the Committee for '94 that Canada should have a system of wholly publicly funded elections, and we believe that Canada should move towards a system that does not rely on private fundraising.** Political donations are largely the prerogative of an elite defined by occupation, education, age, geographic region, and, ultimately, gender.[9] The amount of subsidy provided to a relatively small number of individuals through the political tax credit is substantial, as Table 2 illustrates:

TABLE 2

Year	Number of Taxpayers	Amount of credit
1984	151,308	$13,588,000
1985	109,310	8,624,000
1986	117,566	9,934,000
1987	102,824	7,660,000

Source: Canada, Revenue Canada, Personal Taxation Statistics Division, confirmed by telephone May 2, 1990.

Incidentally, the Council was advised by Revenue Canada that a statistical breakdown of this information by gender would cost $600.00 and take one and a half to two months to complete. This is yet another illustration of a long-standing concern of the Council regarding systemic barriers to the most basic kinds of information required to provide a thorough gender analysis of policy issues. The lack of such data also suggests to us that many policy measures are not being examined for their impact on women.

14. The Council believes creative measures can be taken to both reduce the need to rely on private fundraising and to encourage greater participation of women in the electoral process. **As a first step in the direction of a wholly publicly funded electoral system, the Council recommends that the reimbursement of election expenses be increased to 75% for male candidates, and to 100% for all female candidates. Further, to encourage political parties to increase the number of female candidates representing their party in a federal election, the Council recommends that the reimbursement of election expenses for all registered political parties be increased to 50% for those parties whose candidates are at least 50% women.**

15. The Council believes that this increase in reimbursements should be funded through a reduction of the individual political tax credit which would free up more funds for reimbursements. In the 1988 federal election, a total of $18,693,464.00 was reimbursed to candidates and political parties.[10] A 25% increase in this amount, corresponding roughly to the proposed increase in reimbursements for male candidates and political parties, would total $23,366,830.00. This is less than the $26,218,000.00 for political contributions

which the government subsidized through the political tax credit in the years between the last two federal elections, and substantially below the amount of subsidy provided if the political tax credit for 1988 was included.[11] This also leaves plenty of room for the 100% reimbursement proposed for female candidates.

16. Women who have run for political office, both successfully and unsuccessfully, tell us that getting the nomination is the most difficult part of the electoral process. According to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, "Women who have been successful at the polls confirm that winning the nomination is a more formidable hurdle than winning the election."[12] The barriers to gaining the nomination are both financial and procedural. A nomination campaign can cost anywhere from $250 to $250,000 (and, it is rumoured, more). Women have testified to dirty tricks and obstacles, even when the nomination is acclaimed.[13] Public policy measures to encourage the participation of women in public life will be largely ineffective if women cannot win at the nomination stage. Spending limits, disclosure of expenses and donations, and fair voting criteria could easily be regulated and would help to overcome some of the difficulties women experience in the nomination process.

17. Therefore, **the Council recommends that nomination campaigns for federal elected office be regulated under the *Canada Elections Act* in a manner consistent with the regulation of election campaigns, including prescribing minimum qualifications of eligible voters (by age, citizenship status, and residency in the riding), spending limits (based on a formula similar to that for election campaigns), and disclosure of expenses and contributions. Consistent with our earlier recommendations regarding election expenses, the Council recommends that the expenses incurred by candidates seeking the nomination for a political party become eligible for partial reimbursement, with women seeking nominations eligible for larger reimbursement.** The Council acknowledges that there will likely be resistance to this proposal from political parties; however, equality in our democratic process is a matter of public interest (and the public purse). There is ample evidence to document that winning the nomination is the key to our electoral process. If the nomination process is not fair, the election campaign that follows will be a charade.

18. The Committee for '94 has drawn attention to enforcement difficulties in the pre-nomination stage, and has suggested a clear penalty for exceeding spending limits for nomination campaigns: loss of eligibility to contest the election. Other possible measures include withholding reimbursements, holding political parties accountable for the integrity and financing of nomination campaigns, and attributing excess spending as taxable personal income of the person who sought the nomination.

19. Although the Council believes the measures recommended above will encourage more women to participate in the electoral process, they will not, in themselves, ensure that more women are elected to the House of Commons. They do not require parties to run women in ridings in which the party is competitive, and they do not confront the pervasive influence of socialization and political culture. Not only do we want more women to participate in the electoral process; we want equal representation of women in the House of Commons. We want a triple E House of Commons in which women are elected, equal, and effective.

20. Many people are still confused about what equality means. As Professor MacKinnon explains, "Ever since Aristotle said equality is 'treating likes alike, unlikes unlike,' equality law has been a law of sameness and difference. If you are the same, you are entitled to be treated the same. If you are different, you can be treated differently, and equality as a principle does not really apply to you."[14] Recently, our Supreme Court overruled Aristotle. It called this approach to equality perverse. In its first decision on section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the Supreme Court of Canada said that our constitutional equality guarantee "is designed to protect those groups who suffer social, political and legal disadvantage in our society."[15] Section 15 of the Charter provides:

> 15(1). Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

> (2). Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

21. Subsections 15(1) and 15(2) of the Charter together guarantee substantive equality, that is, equality of **results**. The recommendations in this brief could be considered to form part of a program of affirmative action to achieve women's political equality. Some have argued that affirmative action is reverse discrimination, and that subsection 15(2) was included in the Charter to protect such programs as an exception to the general principle of equality. We do not agree that our recommendations should be viewed as a deviation from the "normal" principle of equality. Subsections 15(1) and 15(2) must be read together as a whole to guarantee women equal benefit of the law. For women, the guarantee of equality is reinforced by section 28 of the Charter, which provides, "Notwithstanding anything in this Charter, the rights and freedoms referred to in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons."

22. Even though our Supreme Court has overruled Aristotle, his version of equality still pervades our laws, our politics, and our intellectual culture. Law is being rethought in fundamental ways to make room for the reality experienced by the other half of the population. The Council believes it is time to apply this same exercise to our political thought and practices.

23. The Council was disappointed with the section of the Commission's mandate that stated: "fundamental changes to Canada's system of direct election by simple majority on a single ballot does not fall within the ambit of its mandate." Our electoral system alone cannot account for women's poor representation, but it must claim its share of responsibility. We believe the gross underrepresentation of women in political life in Canada is, in itself, sufficient reason to contemplate electoral reform. We agree with Professor Boyle's comment that "To take any other attitude is surely to contemplate with complacency the alienation of the majority of the population from the political process."[16]

24. Although it is not our objective here to provide a detailed proposal for reform of Canada's electoral system, we would like to identify some creative ideas that would serve as a useful starting point for discussion. For example, it has often been suggested that a system of proportional representation, rather than our first-past-the-post system of election, would improve the chances of women and other disadvantaged groups being elected to Parliament. Variants of proportional representation systems have been examined federally and provincially, and received some qualified support from women's groups participating in 1983 discussions on new voting systems in the province of Quebec.[17] The idea is not new to Canada. We have a constitutionally guaranteed form of proportional representation in the provincial distribution of seats in the House of Commons.

25. Others have argued that a system of proportional representation alone would not ensure the election of more women.[18] Women in Nordic countries, which do have proportional representation systems, have combined these with other measures, including constitutional change ensuring equal representation, quota systems for the nomination of candidates, and changes in voting systems. In Canada, Professor Boyle has argued for a re-examination of the drawing of electoral boundaries. One simple method she proposes is the creation of dual member constituencies,[19] with one man and one woman elected to an individual constituency. To achieve a more fundamental restructuring of power-sharing, she suggests variations on this theme.

26. Why not turn to a system of dual member constituencies, with one man and one woman elected in each? In fact, the Commission has indicated that it will be addressing the criteria for redistribution of electoral district boundaries. Why not redraw the electoral boundaries to provide a manageable number (twice the current 295 ridings would be unmanageable) of male-female constituencies? Why not encourage Canadians to participate in a national forum, such as that provided by a royal commission, to discuss how such a system would actually work? This proposal provides the most concrete means of achieving equal representation in the House of Commons by 1994.

27. Dual member constituencies also offer the hope that, by creating a critical mass of women, the political power structure will necessarily be affected. The Council agrees with Madame Justice Wilson that women do make a difference. Professor Eichler asked the following question in a national survey: Are female and male decision-makers in comparable positions more or less concerned with sex equality? She found that consistently, and independent of party preference, male decision-makers turned out to be less aware of existing sex inequalities, and less committed to the notion of sex equality than either female decision-makers or feminist activists. This was expressed as greater trust in the prevailing political structure and less conviction that an alternative political culture is needed in order to get more women interested in politics. Professor Eichler concluded that a political structure within which changes can be effected is a necessary condition for achieving sex equality in our society.[20]

28. **The Council recommends that further research and consultation on the issue of dual member, male-female constituencies be undertaken by the Commission or an appropriate parliamentary inquiry.** In 1967, in Norway, all parties formed a cross-partisan committee, with the participation of all women's organizations, to work toward the greater participation and election of women.[21] The Norwegian system of proportional representation was a factor which encouraged participation on this committee. Perhaps the small, but distinct gender gap which emerged in the 1988 federal election will provide a similar incentive in Canada.

29. In spite of all we have said, the Council is nonetheless profoundly ambivalent (or, as Professor Vickers describes the condition, mugwumpish[22]) about encouraging women to take their place in the formal political life of our country. This is an attitude shared by many women, and men, throughout Canada. Generally, people in Canada are very cynical about politics. In 1974, participants in a national survey were asked to describe Canadian politics. The replies were negative on almost everything associated with the political system.[23] Public ratings of political parties and politicians hit record lows after the 1988 federal general election.[24] Party politics, party discipline, and the heightened importance of regional balances in our political system encourage

quick-fix solutions, a preoccupation with the styles of party leaders, and less emphasis on the quality and contributions of individual candidates and elected members. The rules of the House of Commons have been changed in recent years and apparently keep members of Parliament busy. However, the effective power of decision-making is concentrated in the hands of an increasingly small elite group of politicians. Anyone who watches Question Period on television is left with the impression that it is often a forum for abuse, at least for those who attend. Research reveals that the very structure of male-centred political institutions discourages the participation of women. According to Professor Vickers, "women face high participation costs in structured settings that require consistent, geographically distant, and often ritualistic activity."[25] Is there a better description of the work of federal members of Parliament? Why would we encourage anyone, let alone women who as a group are juggling more than their share of responsibilities, to live this life?

30. The Council has concluded that women don't have a choice. Decisions about the availability of good quality yet affordable child care, the right to reproductive control, the financial life of women's centres and shelters, in fact, decisions about the distribution of wealth and resources among groups and individuals, are the prerogative of government, however constructed. Women are going to have to try to take their place in the political structure and, at the same time, try to change its very nature. Feminist research is uncovering new insights about women's experiences of political culture which may have larger applications. This research shows that women want more responsive representation, as well as opportunities, consistent with the reality of women's paid work and family responsibilities, to be more active and responsible citizens. Partisan politics (in particular, party discipline), the organization of political life, and our dominant political culture have emerged as key barriers to achieving this goal, and it is not only women who will pay the price. Feminists are debating what ought to be done in political life. We think that's a question for everyone.

NOTES

1. Letter from Pierre Lortie, Chairperson, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, to Glenda P. Simms, President, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, January 15, 1990.

2. Canada, Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (Ottawa: 1970), p. 355, para. 88.

3. *Ibid.*, para. 87.

4. Sources: Canada, Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report*, *ibid.*, p. 337, para. 13 and 14; Sylvia B. Bashevkin, *Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 6, Table 1.1; J. Patrick Boyer, *Election Law in Canada — The Law and Procedure of Federal, Provincial and Territorial Elections*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Butterworths, 1987), ch. 5; Linda Granfield, *Canada Votes: How we elect our government* (Toronto: Kids Can Press Ltd., 1990), pp. 30-31.

5. William Mishler and Harold D. Clarke, "Political Participation in Canada", in Michael S. Whittington and Glen Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 1990s*, third edition (Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1990), p. 158-181; Bashevkin, *ibid.*, ch. 3.

6. Greta Nemiroff, "Interesting Times: Canadian Women from 1970 to 1990" (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, forthcoming).

7. Danielle Debbas, "Atelier 8: Le Financement", in Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, *Les Actes du Carrefour "L'accès des femmes au pouvoir politique"*, Montréal: 1987, p. 122.

8. See Bashevkin, *Toeing the Lines*, *supra*, n. 4; Janine Brodie, *Women and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1985), p. 107.

9. See Mishler and Clarke, "Political Participation in Canada", *supra*, n. 5.

10. Canada, Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer Respecting Election Expenses 1988* (Ottawa: 1988).

11. Data for the 1988 taxation year is not available from Revenue Canada. We have therefore applied the amount for 1984, which is the most recent data available for a federal election year.

12. See Canada, Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, *Report*, *supra*, n. 2, p. 349, para. 59.

13. See Brodie, *Women and Politics in Canada*, *supra*, n. 8, ch. 7.

14. Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Breaking New Ground", *LEAF Lines* (February 1990), vol. 3, no. 2, p. 1.

15. *Andrews v. Law Society of British Columbia* (2 February 1989), File No. 19955/56 (S.C.C.), per Wilson, J. at 5.

16. Christine Boyle, "Home Rule for Women: Power-Sharing Between Men and Women", *The Dalhousie Law Journal* (October 1983), vol. 7, no. 3, p. 797.

17. Fédération des femmes du Québec (Québec), "Mémoire sur le mode de scrutin présenté à la Commission de la représentation électorale", octobre 1983; Fédération des femmes du Québec (Montréal), "Mémoire sur le mode de scrutin présenté à la Commission de la représentation électorale du Québec", novembre 1983; Fédération des femmes du Québec (Saguenay), "Mémoire présenté à Monsieur Pierre F. Côté, C.R., président de la représentation électorale à l'égard du document de consultation 'La proportionnelle régionale . . . un nouveau système électoral' ", novembre 1983.

18. See Boyle, "Home Rule for Women", *supra*, n. 16, pp. 796-797.

19. Dual member constituencies exist in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

20. Margrit Eichler, *Sex Equality and Political Participation of Women in Canada. Some Survey Results*, P.O.W. Canada Report 1 (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1979).

21. Joanne Baldassi, "The Gender Gap: The Impact of Gender on Canadian Federal Politics", Carleton University, 1985, p. 59.

22. Jill McCalla Vickers, "Feminist Approaches to Women in Politics", in Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster, eds., *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 31.

23. Jon H. Pammett, "Elections", in Whittington and Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 1990s*, *supra*, n. 5, p. 273.

24. *Ibid*. See also Alan Frizzell, Jon H. Pammett, and Anthony Westell, *The Canadian General Election of 1988* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989).

25. See McCalla Vickers, "Feminist Approaches to Women in Politics", *supra*, n. 22, p. 30.